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AN PARTY THE WORK-INGMAN'S FRIEND.

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SENTIAL TO HUMAN HAP- NESS.

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he water we drink, and t bathes us, are not the life because they are so no notice, and even ne- cient Providence which em to our needs. And ecurity of life and prop- press, a free religion, e's occupation and to n the gift of the people,

THE DUTIES WE OWE TO THE GOVERNMENT.

To ensure the permanency of this magnificent and inestimable inheritance, we owe it more than our vote and pecuniary support; we owe it our highest thought, constant vigilance, and zealous co-operation. Not only in time of war has the government a right to command our lives and fortunes, but in time of peace it has the right to demand our most profound thought and watchful care.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY MAINLY COMPOSED OF WORKINGMEN.

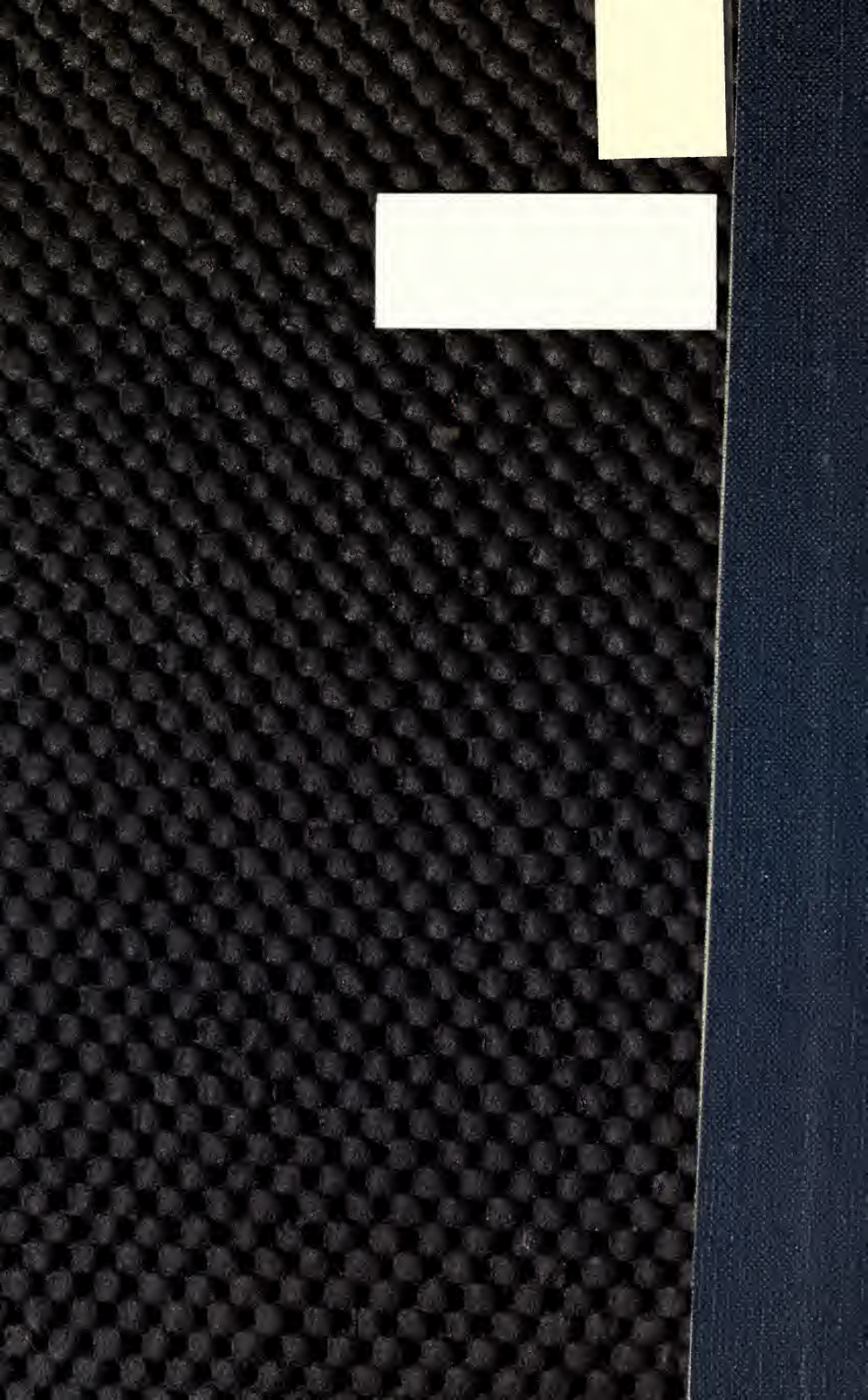
The great majority of the people of the United States, who are toilers with brain and hand, are particularly interested in the maintainence of our government. The Republican party, under whose leadership the government is now moving, is composed almost exclusively of laboring men; in the North and West, its stronghold is among the farmers and the mechanics of the villages, and in the South its most enthusiastic supporters are the recently emancipated slaves. Thus the separate interests of the workingmen are safe in its keeping; for while we have an abundant number of laborers we have, thank God, no laboring class—no hereditary caste. Men may be engaged either in physical or mental labors, or in any particular branch thereof, during their whole life, but it is entirely voluntary, and many of them change from one to the other as it may to them seem best.

THERE IS NO PERMANENT LABORING CLASS.

The assumption that there is a laboring class, or inferior caste, having separate and antagonistic interests, which descends from father to son, and from which no one can rise or change is a monarchical idea, imported from abroad and inapplicable to our country. And to prevent the formation of a permanent laboring class, as distinguished from a professional or a capitalist class, ought to be the object of earnest solicitude with every American statesman and thinker.

NO NATURAL ANTAGONISM BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL.

For the purpose of convenient distinction, and not because there exists such an absolute line of demarkation in real life, we may assume that there are three distinct stages of capital in the United States: the capital of physical labor; the capital of mental labor, and the capital of accumulated or capitalized labor. Between these three classes of capitalists there is no natural or necessary antagonism. All of them are interested in the security of life and property, in the enforcement of contracts, in the



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THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE WORKINGMAN'S FRIEND.

MAIN

INTRODUCTORY—THE OBJECT OF POLITICAL PARTIES.

No. 1.

In a Republican Government, political parties are essential State machinery, without which there would be political stagnation; but while we recognize this fact, we must also remember that parties are only means, not ends. They are instruments solely for the enforcement of principles, ideas, and policies for the benefit of the entire nation; and as it is an axiom that truth alone is immortal, ever triumphant, and conquering error; only that political party which adapts itself to the progressive spirit of the age, and seeks the promotion of the permanent and universal welfare of the people, will be enduring, and honored with their confidence and support. And whenever any party ceases to be in harmony with the reformatory and progressive tendency of the times, it ceases to be the representative of the majority, which alone confers upon it efficacy and governing power.

THE VITAL ADVANTAGE OF FREE GOVERNMENT.

The benefits and blessings of a Republican government, which guarantees to every citizen an equal voice in the management of affairs, consist not chiefly in the fact that the Republic gives greater security to life and property than the Monarchy; that it is more economical; that its civil service is of greater efficiency, or that it commits fewer errors of public policy. The chief value of a Republic consists in the immense spiritual distance and personal capability of a self-governing citizen and a governed subject. The consciousness of power, and consequent self-respect, the practical acceptation of the fact that every man, no matter what his circumstances in life or his vocation, is equally a ruler and part of the governing power, and that government is not *above*, but of him, are the chief advantages which a republican State presents. It is in these energizing and beneficient influences upon the growth of personal character, wherein is manifested the infinite superiority of republican over monarchical institutions, before which all minor considerations of relative economy and efficiency dwindle into insignificance.

GOOD GOVERNMENT ESSENTIAL TO HUMAN HAPPINESS.

Twenty-two centuries ago, Solon, the great law-giver of the Athenians, and the wisest man of his age, in describing the happiest man whom he ever knew, placed foremost as the first essential condition of that happiness, that he "lived in Greece, a well ordered State."

The air we breathe, the water we drink, and the genial sunshine that bathes us, are not the less essential or vital to life because they are so abundant that we take no notice, and even neglect to thank a beneficient Providence which has so fully adapted them to our needs. And in this great republic, security of life and property, an untrammelled press, a free religion, freedom to change one's occupation and to aspire to any office within the gift of the people, are principles of so universal recognition, that we do not fully appreciate these essential and vital conditions to a happy and well developed life; nor are we sufficiently grateful and attached to our government which alone guarantees them. We should never forget that this is the only great and well-ordered republican State in the world; that everywhere else we have either despotisms, absolute or qualified, or nominal republics tempered with anarchy and civil wars.

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freedom of making contracts; in the complete liberty of changing vocation and investments, in general education, and the peaceful and economical administration of public affairs. The capitalist of physical labor has for sale his day's work; the capitalist of mental labor his professional skill, and the capitalist of reserved labor the accumulation which either he or his ancestors have acquired. Sometimes the one and sometimes the other of these classes receives the highest share of reward. It frequently happens in our Western territories, or in our mining districts, that physical labor is in so great demand that lawyers and doctors engage side by side with ordinary laborers in physical work, because it brings by far the highest reward. At other times the capital represented by physical labor is so abundant, and the reserved and accumulated capital is in such great demand that it receives the lion's share of the reward.

STATEMENT OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

The main question, which an inquiry into the labor problem suggests, is two fold: First, how can the capitalist of a day's labor, comprising as it does the largest class of our population, receive in exchange the greatest amount of comfort, and the greatest share of profit. Secondly, how can he rise most easily and speedily to the condition of a capitalist of reserved labor, or a capitalist of skillful mental acquirements.

These questions are of the most vital importance to the progress of the world. They are so profound and interwoven with the fabric of society, that they require the most earnest, conscientious, pains-taking, impartial, and nonpartizan investigation. They cannot be solved by the cheap rhetoric of the political agitator, nor by intuition, nor by the unlettered and untutored suggestions of any class, looking upon them from a partial standpoint. And if the words of counsel which we are about to present to our fellow laborers do not clear away all the difficulties surrounding the subject, we know, at least, that our suggestions are the result, both of earnest thought, and of a sincere desire to *level up* our physical laborers without levelling down any other class. Elevate, educate, make moral and free, the basis of society, and not only is the safety of the State ensured, but all other classes will be prosperous and contented.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE WORKINGMAN'S FRIEND.

No. 2.

POLITICAL, PERSONAL AND ASSOCIATED ACTION.

To lift up the masses of men to a higher standpoint of moral and mental excellence, to impart to them greater skill, greater productive power, greater self respect and higher conscientious motives, are the only means of a permanent cure of poverty, crime and discontent. This can be accomplished by three-fold action: Political, Personal and Associated.

PROPER POLITICAL ACTION.

Political action can only tend incidentally to this object. The workingmen, like all good citizens, ought to ally themselves with that party, whose history furnishes the most complete guarantees of beneficient progress. If the workingmen of the United States have any specific reforms to propose, they must first present them at the bar of public opinion, where all political causes are tried, and then endeavor to have them incorporated in the platform of the dominant political party; for in that way they will be most speedily converted into the law of the land. If then the Republican party has given evidence that it is ready to adopt all principles and ideas which the popular conscience approves, and make them a part of its platform, surely the workingman, as such, has no occasion first to tear down that political party and establish a new one, for the purpose of accomplishing his objects. Common sense clearly indicates that it is much easier to engraft any popular principle into the platform of the dominant party which has the power to carry it out, than first to popularize a principle, which must be done at all events, and then tear down the party and substitute a new and special party in its place. It may be strongly suspected, therefore, that those who advocate the propriety of securing special legislation for the working man by the formation of a new party, are using this only as a pretext to bring the Democratic party into power, and for the purpose of obtaining pelf, places, and power for themselves.

In so far then as the workingman needs special legislation, he can obtain it, after due discussion, from the Republican party, which has a history that incontrovertibly shows that it has been, for the last ten years, the one, real, practical friend of the workingman, making no distinction on account of race or color.

HISTORY OF THE WORKINGMAN'S MOVEMENT.

What has given to the modern labor movement its strength and consideration? What has given an impulse to the elevation and dignification of labor throughout the whole world, except the abolition of involuntary labor in the United States?

During the forty years' reign of the Democratic party, several millions of workingmen and women and their offspring were bought and sold, like the cattle of the field, and dedicated to the infernal moloch of American Slavery. American workingmen were prevented by cruel and outrageous laws from learning to read and write, and, consequently, to think. They were prevented both by laws and public opinion from leaving the class of physical laborers to enter the professions or to become their own employers.

The Republican party, seeking the emancipation of this oppressed class, through good and evil report, and after years of struggle and obloquy, succeeded in arousing the public conscience to demand the abolition of involuntary servitude. The Republican party insisted that voluntary labor, secured by voluntary and equitable contracts, should be substituted for involuntary and hereditary slavery. The party has done more than this. It has overcome successfully, with the aid of the nation, a gigantic civil war. Under its leadership several hundred thousand men sacrificed their lives in behalf of that grand principle, that involuntary servitude shall be forever abolished.

EDUCATION AND ENFRANCHISEMENT.

The enormous debt which now rests upon the nation, and which is an incubus upon every man's energies, was caused by the late gigantic rebellion. These rebels were all Democrats There were no Republicans in the rebellion. And since that time every means calculated to

benefit this class of poor emancipated laborers has been resisted with insolence and malignity. The Ku Klux outrages to-day are nothing more than the same malignancy on the part of the land-holders against their former slaves, trying by intimidation to have them submit to their previous domination, cheating them out of their wages, and reducing them to their former state of abject dependence, though they cannot re-establish slavery in name.

The Republican party has made the very name of reform a popular catch-word—so that pseudo reformers are proclaming their silly reform nostrums, like patent medicine dealers, on every stump. Until the Republican party made "reform" popular, conservatism and conservative nostrums were the order of the day.

The Homestead Laws.

The record shows, and it is a dark and damning record, that the only veto which President Buchanan had the courage to muster, was hurled against the Homestead Bill, which enacted that the public domain shall be set apart for the use of the actual settlers. It superseeded the issue of land warrants, which could be bought up by capitalists, and located in large bodies, thus preventing the workingman from gaining a home upon the national domain, except on usurious and disadvantageous terms. It was the Republican party that in the very first year of its power, enacted the Homestead Bill into a law, and has upheld its provisions ever since. The memory of the American people must be short, indeed, if they do not recollect that the Homestead policy was denounced by the Democratic press, as unconstitutional, aggrarian and revolutionary.

Enfranchisement of the Freedmen.

The Republican party, not satisfied with the mere emancipation of the Southern workingmen, enfranchised them, and conferred upon them the freedman's weapon—the ballot—so that they might be able to maintain their political and personal rights of voluntary labor and of State education, against the assaults of their enemies.

The Freedman's Bureau.

The Republican party did more than that. It saw that these people were too poor to maintain voluntary schools. It saw that the public sentiment in the former slave States was totally opposed to giving them an education or to establish common schools of any kind. The South never had decent schools before emancipation, and determined not to have any for the use of the freedmen. Therefore the freedmen's bureau was instituted, which for several years undertook to establish schools under national auspices, free alike to the children of all classes; and if the freedmen profited most largely by these national schools, it was because the white workingman had sunk so low as to be unable to appreciate the advantages and blessings of education.

The Republican party made, moreover, a solemn compact before readmitting the late rebellious States into the Union, that they should maintain, hereafter, public schools open to all, which could only inure to the benefit of the workingmen, both black and white.

The Purity of the Ballot Box.

The Republican party has enacted a law to protect each and every man in casting his ballot, to prevent ballot-stuffing by unworthy men, to guarantee to each and every workingman his absolute sovereignty; and to secure to him his equal influence, which is endangered by the corrupting power of wealth, wielded by monopolies and consolidated capital. But in every stage, in every turn, no matter what beneficient provisions were proposed, the Republican party has encountered the virulent and deadly hostility of the Democratic leaders and press. And even to-day, in the recent address which was published by them, signed by fourteen United States Senators, and ninety-three Democratic Representatives, we defy any one to find one single generous sentiment, the proposal of a single specific measure of reform, a single line expressing intention to benefit, either the workingman, or the country at large, or as tending to augment the glory and honor of the Nation, either at home or abroad. It is the same system of fault-finding, of pulling down, of belittleing, of every true conscientious and philanthropic man that has endeavered to promote the progress of our country.

Whenever our Government has endeavored to protect the weak and poor in their rights, the Democratic party has exhausted the vocabulary of oprobrious terms, in denounciation of the Republican party. Surely the working-men of the United States are too intelligent to be misled by this fierce denunciation of measures, which experience and time have proved of benefit alike to the nation at large, and particularly to the poor men of integrity, and interested in an honest government.

Land Grants to Railroads.

It is true large quantities of public lands have been granted to Railroad Companies, and the time has come when this system of disposing of the public domain must stop. Some of the land grants were not made judiciously, and the temptation to Congressional corruption is very great. Yet the land grants given to the Pacific Railways are, by no means, an unmixed evil. They have rendered accessible many millions of acres of land—lost in the American desert—which, as long as speedy communication was wanting, could only be used as hunting grounds.

The Railroad Companies are greatly interested in emigration; it is of the utmost consequence to them, to have their long and exposed lines protected by settlements; and, therefore, they are offering their lands on such easy terms that emigrants prefer them to the public lands further off. A law, however, ought to be speedily enacted, fixing the maximum price of said lands, and preventing their sale in large contiguous bodies to single individuals and corporations. I am glad that public sentiment has been aroused upon this question, and that the workingmen and people generally, will visit with political damnation the politician who favors the squandering of the public domain. The Republican, party and press are fully committed against further land grants on the terms hithertoo made.

The Eight Hour Law.

At the demand of the workingmen, and as a national example, the Republican party enacted that, on all public works, eight hours shall constitute a day's work. This is another evidence that this party has been anxious to secure the influence and co-operation of the artizan.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY THE WORKINGMAN'S FRIEND.

No. 3.

Economy and Education.

Workingmen must, however, act individually for the attainment of prosperity. So that contracts are enforced; so that life and property are secure; so that every young man is freely permitted to learn any trade, or enter any vocation he pleases, and every man is allowed to change that vocation at will; so that no law is made which takes more from than they ought to pay; so that it provides them with a complete and free system of education—taking the child from the primary school and advancing him to the grammar and high school, and finally sending him to the University without any charge of tution; the State has done all that it ought to do as an organized corporation.

The individual workmen must observe temperance, industry, energy and persistence, habits of study and careful observation, especially in the way of making the mechanical arts and occupations more esteemed.

Economy is of the highest value.

Is there anything in the conditions, circumstances, or laws of the United States that will prevent any of your boys from becoming independent and have an accumulated capital of at least $10,000 when forty years of age? I take the following illustration from a recent number of the Dubuque *Times*, of what immense results the savings of thirty cents per day will accomplish:

How Boys may become Rich.

In Dubuque there are one thousand boys on the threshold of manhood and business life, possessing sufficient education for ordinary business purposes, and who feel sure that if they only *had the capital* with which to embark in business, they might, in the course of an ordinary lifetime, acquire an independence, if not great wealth. Of these one thousand boys, a large portion of those who remain alive until they arrive at old age will then find themselves seedy, penniless and wretched—or but a single step above this condition, struggling for a meager subsistence, by hard day's works dependent upon some capitalist for the employment whereby they earn their bread. And then, in looking back over the past, and questioning with themselves why their lives should have been such a failure, they will declare, and, perhaps, actually believe, that "luck was against them;" that they were obliged to begin life *without capital*, and never found an opportunity to acquire capital, to serve as a foundation for a fortune. We purpose to examine into the validity of this plea.

The majority of these young men, in imitation of the habits of the best society, make use of tobacco in the shape of cigars. Some smoke rarely, but are select in their taste, and use only the better kinds of cigars; say, three a day at ten cents each. Others—and by far the greater number—average six cigars a day, at (we will say) five cents each. Thirty cents a day for cigars or tobacco in some shape is a very moderate allowance for an ordinary habitual smoker. This amounts to (30x365) $109.50 a year. In the course of the year, by purchasing at wholesale, the individual may make a saving of the odd $9.50, [illegible] $100 as the amount expended for tobacco in the course of the year.

We will begin with young men seventeen years of age. Between his seventeenth and eighteenth birthday he expends $100 for cigars. That $100, if placed at interest at 10 per cent. on his eighteenth birthday, would, by his nineteenth birthday, amount to $110. That $110 placed at interest until his twentieth birthday, would amount to $121. That $121 placed at interest until his twenty-first birthday, would amount to $133.10. By continuing the calculation, the smoker will find that the one hundred dollars expended during his seventeenth year, if simply put out at interest at ten per cent., and reinvested annually—a very easy thing to do—by the time the individual had arrived at a good hale old age, ready to "retire from business" and enjoy life, would amount to the startling sum of $9,720.03.

The amount at ten per cent interest, by the time the individual would be sixty-five years old, of $100 expended in cigars or tobacco by a young man in his—

YEAR.		YEAR.		YEAR.	
17th	$ 9720.03	33d	$ 2111.42	49th	$ 459.50
18th	8820.03	34th	1916.48	50th	417.73
19th	8018.21	35th	1744.98	51st	379.75
20th	7289.28	36th	1686.34	52d	213.05
21st	6626.63	37th	1443.13	53d	295.31
22d	6024.19	38th	1311.05	54th	250.30
23d	5476.54	39th	1191.85	55th	235.79
24th	4978.97	40th	1033.49	56th	214.36
25th	4526.05	41st	884.99	57th	194.81
26th	4114.59	42d	895.44	58th	177.15
27th	3740.54	43d	814.04	59th	161.05
28th	3400.48	44th	740.03	60th	146.41
29th	3001.53	45th	672.76	61st	133.10
30th	2810.32	46th	611.60	62d	121.00
31st	2554.83	47th	556.00	63d	110.00
32d	2322.52	48th	505.05	64th	100.00
Total					$105,395.50

In other words the young man who uses tobacco in any shape, to the value of thirty cents a day, in the course of an ordinary life-time, expends an amount, which, if instead of spending it for tobacco, he had invested annually at ten per cent interest, would afford him a fortune of over *one hundred thousand dollars*.

We do not think of a word of comment that can add to the force of these figures.

A permanent purpose in life.

One thing above all others cannot be impressed upon both old and young with too great an emphasis. It is, that a definite purpose of life, and a conviction that what we may produce with hand or brain, is for the benefit of the world, is essential to our happiness. An idle life leads to worthlessness, wretchedness, gambling, debauchery, and finally to the State prison or an early grave. It is an essential condition, made a law by the Creator Himself, which no man can, with impunity, transgress, that intelligent, continuous effort to do and accomplish something is essential to individual contentment. The envy, therefore, which some times enters the heart of the workingmen against the sons of rich men whom they see loitering on the street corners, is misplaced. These men do not only, not enjoy the same degree of personal happiness and comfort, but they are often plunged into recklessness and vice. Look then not to *without* for relief, but from within. Among the inalienable

rights of a freeman stands preeminent the right to enter into a contract, and the right to work for whom he pleases, and at such wages as he for himself may determine. First class mechanics ought to resist the attempt of inferior and incompetent men to control their wages and hours of labor. The man who dares not to face the world on his own hook—who dares not to take a job of work without permission of some "order" will always remain as poor as a church mouse.

A TRADE AMONG THE INALIENABLE RIGHTS.

A trade or calling is the birth-right of every man and woman who chooses to follow it. To prohibit, by law, by usage or by combinations, any person from becoming a mechanic or artizan is a *crime*. The assumption, that if there are but a few men to work in a particular calling, doing a minimum amount of work, the price of that class of labor will thereby be enhanced, is entirely fallacious. There is a point at which consumption stops. Whenever the production of any article is so costly that by doing other work we cannot equal it as an equivalent, other articles are used in its place. Thus, for instance, if all the bricklayers in the United States were to combine and charge a hundred dollars for laying a thousand bricks, the consequence would be that brick houses would not be built, and brick laying avoided in every possible way. In fact, we are doing as much work with all the improved machinery that we now have—with steam power, railways, steam-boats, power looms, &c.—in a month, than fifty years ago, we did in a year, yet there is more demand for work, a greater demand for skillful and intelligent laborers than was ever known before. The more industry there is in the land, the greater is the demand for workers, and the more idleness, the less capacity is there for general employment.

THE ABSENCE OF CAPITAL.

Some agitators are trying to make the workingman believe that the paradise of the laborer is where there is no capital. In other words, if all the rich men and wealth were swept out of existence, and every man had to do his own work, thus being his own employer, holding only as much land as he, by himself, could cultivate, the millenium for workingmen would have come. If any of these gentlemen wish to try this condition of affairs practically; if they wish to live in a land without capital, and, therefore, without machinery, without roads, without good schools, universities, churches, public buildings and other necessary institutions of high civilization; if they wish to go to a land where each man raises enough for his own needs and packs a little surplus, wherewith to obtain his tools, on the back of an ass or mule and carries it to the sea coast, let him go to Santo Domingo, for there that happy condition of society exists. There you have enough to eat—kind nature gives that plentifully; there with very little exertion, you can raise enough tobacco and other products to exchange for clothing; and then you can be as happy as the hog that only needs in addition a mud-puddle for complete enjoyment. The absence of capital, as such, is not a blessing, but a very great disadvantage, and, therefore, the object of the philanthropist is to show a way by which every man, every laborer can become, partly by self-sacrifice, partly by higher skill and greater education, and partly by equitable laws, a capitalist himself. We should try to convert our country into a land of capitalists instead of a land of poverty and wretchedness. Surely, if we have a consciousness of our own immortality; if we regard this life as only probationary—as one fitting the soul for a higher destiny, and greater mental and moral exertions hereafter, a definite purpose in life which prevents the rust of idleness and corruption from corroding our vitality, is an essential condition both to our happiness here and hereafter. Thus the laborer who conscientiously does his duty, educates his children, urges them to enter an honest vocation, can be, and is the happiest man of his age and time.

MEASURES OF PERMANENT RELIEF.

But what of the future? Among the remedies most likely to develope the manhood of the workingmen, and aid their material development, the following are suggested:

First, The alliance of the workingmen with the party of progress, humanity, law and order, and opposition to the party of organized villany, deception and fraud. It must be evident to all, that Tammany Hall corruption combined with secession hatred and Ku Klux outrages, would, in case of success at the next election, nationalize the New York system of organized corruption, and the rule of great corporations. Why is there more poverty and crime in New York city than any where on the continent? It is because thirty-five millions of taxes are wrung from the producers, annually, to be in great part, divided among a few men of immense wealth like Tweed and others.

If the workingmen were to organize and to support the Republican party, they could select their own men and place them upon the ticket for Congress in all large cities. The Republican party would gladly honor with its support some intelligent and patriotic artizan. Before you rush into the dark, and peril all you have gained, you had better first try what earnest co-operation with the Republican party will do.

Secondly, Organized and powerful railway and other combinations must be restrained in their rapacity by law. There is nothing above the State, and no combination can be allowed to subvert the general rights of the community. The railways are our only practical public highways, and Congress has full power to regulate the charges on freight and passengers for the protection of the public. The laws of the States gave railways the right of entry on private lands, because it was held that they were necessary for commerce and inter-communication, and this part of the compact cannot be annulled by arbitrary and extortionate charges.

Thirdly, The Government ought to aid the construction or construct a double track railway from St. Louis to New York, with a few branches from Chicago and Cincinnati, in the West, and one to Boston and Baltimore in the East, which should be open to all persons as a great freight road. A uniform rate of speed, and a toll sufficient to keep the road-bed in order, with a signal code and the use of the telegraph are all the conditions necessary. This road would regulate the freights of all others, and provide moreover cheap transportation for emigrants, and also for cattle.

Fourthly, The Government ought to establish a system of Post Office Saving Banks, which would be of great benefit to the Government itself, and of [illegible] ater advantage to the people [illegible] ik accounts. There are

constantly at rest in our widely extended country from three to four hundred millions of dollars, which are not deposited because they are owned in too small sums and subject to constant use. If then the Government were to establish a Post Office Saving Bank in every village of 2000 inhabitants or upwards, at which all persons could make deposits in sums of five dollars or more and receive interest on the same at the rate of four per cent per annum, it would be a great inducement to the young to save their earnings, afford a cheap loan to the Government, and also cause the payment to the people of from twelve to sixteen millions of dollars per year on money that is now lying idle.

In addition to this bank, a system of transfer drafts could be introduced so that a family emigrating from Boston could deposit their money there, and take out a transfer draft, payable at St Paul. This system of national saving banks with transfer drafts would be of very great and permanent benefit to the working classes. It is also perfectly practical, easily managed and understood, and very much like the money order system.

As soon as the National Debt is sufficiently diminished to make the interest burden easy, and the machinery of the Postal Government Saving Banks is perfectly established, the Government may go one step further, and re-loan the people's money at five per cent. per annum, to build up *bona fide* industrial enterprises, and more particularly, mechanics co-operative associations.

Let us enforce and set in motion the principles herein set forth, and we will have reached a higher level of social and administrative influences, upon which we can rear a beautiful and permanent superstructure.

The happiness and prosperity of each and every citizen, and not the increase of commerce or of production, should be the first object of society and of law; and it may even be necessary to discourage this wild and often unprincipled hunt after material riches, now inaugurated. At all events, every real progress is achieved by long, continuous and painful struggle, and, therefore, we must not be discouraged because ten or twenty years are required—which in the life of a nation are but as a single year—to gain acceptance for new and important truths.

Fifthly, The Statistical Bureau ought to be charged with the regular collection of facts as to the demand of laborers and mechanics in different localities; the wages paid, and the price of land, produce, board, &c. If several hundred thousand dollars can be spent to announce the daily state of the weather; surely this information is of greater importance, and can be collected with less expense.

A Better System of Education.

Sixthly, The majority of the American people are proud of their system of education, have spent already large sums to establish it, and are willing to make even greater pecuniary sacrifices to enlarge it. And yet it must be evident to every thinker that the system is greatly and radically deficient. It cannot be expected that this great question shall be here fully discussed, but a few suggestions are thrown out whose consideration may, in time, produce good results.

First and foremost, we must have better and more highly trained teachers. We must make the office of teacher into one of the most, if not *the* most important profession. And while we insist on a long and arduous course of special training, we must also adequately remunerate the successful teacher. The system of hiring young women who only look to teaching as a temporary expedient, until a chance for marriage occurs, is not only money wasted but a very great and lasting injury inflicted upon the rising generation. The establishment of seminaries for teachers is an absolute and immediate necessity; for Plato well and truly said, "that while seven years of silent study are necessary to *discern* the truth, fourteen years are necessary to enable one to learn how to teach it to others."

I take, moreover, the ground that what we call "education" is exceedingly deficient in compass. It does well enough within its channel which is exceedingly narrow, but it does not pretend to educate all the faculties of the human being. The whole system consists in training the memory so that it may retain mechanically a certain number of facts; and in sharpening the intellectual faculties without enlarging their scope. I cannot think of one exception to the rule that the United States have not produced a single man, great in any walk of life, who has spent the first sixteen years of his life in a city of upwards of eighty thousand inhabitants. That individuality of character which alone gives personal prominence is entirely wanting, and cannot be replaced by mere culture or refinement. Our present system deals chiefly in words and trifles, which, whether remembered or not, are of very little consequence. Grammar and spelling are very well in their place, but they are not the chief end of education. If the man is otherwise great, he learns them in other pursuits, and if his character is dwarfed his spelling is of very little consequence. The child has various faculties, physical, moral, mental and mechanical; and every system of education that does not afford the means of educating all of these, is a failure.

Our educational system ought to be moulded upon the suggestions of Pestalozzi and Froeble. The child between five to eight years of age, ought to have a chance to educate its eye, hands fingers and limbs. Under the guise of play, it ought to be taught the correct use of the pencil, needle, tools, &c. It ought to be taught to sing, to recite, to construct and to amuse itself and others. In fact, learning should be made, and it, moreover, can be made, the most pleasing and entertaining portion of a child's life.

Proper Moral Instructions.

In our anxiety to keep out of our public schools all religious dogmas—that is theology or reasoning about God proper—so that Atheists, Deists, Jews, Protestants and Catholics may have no conscientious scruples to send their children, we have excluded all moral cultivation and instruction as such. We have examplifications of the artificial and arbitrary divisions of the sound of every letter in the alphabet: we have the most insignificant grammatical deviation duly noted, we have all the arithmetical, algebraical and geometrical rules committed to memory, but there is not a single text book that points out to the growing child, the point where deception, disobedience, dissimulation and dishonesty begin; or engraves into the youthful mind a proper abhorrence of evil thoughts and evil deeds. This question of morality is not so easy as is usually supposed—there are, in fact, few persons who can always correctly apply moral axioms in conversation

and business transactions. Exaggerations of statement are found in sermons, and over-praise of articles to be sold are not uncommon. Before we can have more honesty in public affairs we must have a higher moral sentiment in the community. I do not care whether a Professor Huxley or a Catholic Bishop prepared the moral text book, so that it is plain and thorough, and avoids the introduction of theological dogmas. This subject is one of so great importance that it ought to excite the attention of all who wish to make a stand against the manifest increase of corruption in private and public life. Sunday schools, which are chiefly engaged in teaching theological dogmas, are entirely inadequate to give a sufficiency of purely moral instructions.

PROPER FEMALE EDUCATION.

The masses of the growing female children have no suitable educational facilities provided for their use. The answer that our universities, law and medical colleges are now opened to all, is like the gift of a stone to those who hunger for bread. The daughters of our artizans, tradesmen, laborers and small farmers, have not the time to attend universities. Nor would it be of any benefit to many because they have not sufficient capacity, for neither the masses of men or women are fitted for the professions.

Inasmuch as the probabilities are that four females out of five will get married, the Female Polytechnic schools should teach every branch of house-keeping, and particularly cooking. The waste of bad cookery is frightful—fully equal to 25 per cent of all the food consumed. But inasmuch as she may never be married, or become a widow, she ought to have the facility of learning a trade. The use of the sewing and knitting machine, bonnet trimming, dress making, tailoring, fancy work, even carriage trimming and painting, and all sorts of trades fitted for woman should be taught freely to all. This is the practical remedy for four fifths of the complaints we now hear. It is a great absurdity to claim that females get less wages than men because they cannot vote. The reason they get smaller pay is that they do less satisfactory work, and the chief cause of this is, that they have to "pick up," whatever they may undertake, without thorough training or preparation.

TRADE SCHOOLS FOR MALES.

It is about time that something should be done to meet the want of our growing youth that is prevented partly by Trades Unions, and partly by a foolish public sentiment, from learning useful trades. To many youths anything is preferable to regular work. The street railways are overrun with applications for conductorships, though the pay is only two dollars for fourteen hours work. The same men might get four dollars for ten hour's work as machinists, carpenters or masons. A trade is a sheet anchor. It is a real and abiding capital—a never failing resource in case of failure elsewhere. The feeling of security and power of the man who can say, "very well, if all other means fail I can work at my trade"; gives him courage to wage the battle of life with success. I would entrust the happiness of my daughter a thousand times rather to a competent mechanic than to any young man, no matter how genteely seeming, who has no regular profession or calling.

The diploma given by a Polytechnic school of a high grade, after a thorough examination by experts, would be a passport to foremanships and co-partnerships with capitalists. The graduation of these youthful mechanics, going forth into the world, full of heart and hope that they are able to toil and to build, would be witnessed and applauded by all classes of society. A graduated mechanic, with the training, air and polish of the student, would be welcome in every social circle.

Thus must labor be honored, elevated and respected. And I hope that the Republican State Governments will at once initiate this beneficient and necessary reform.

Lastly, This system of education naturally leads to the last and most important of all means for the elevation of the workingmen—the system of mutual co-operation between capitalists and workmen. Whenever this system has been fairly tried, it has been a wonderful success. It is true mere sham co-partnerships, where the capitalists have tried to overreach the employes by fraudulent entries and charges, have failed. But an honest and brotherly division of profits has always been a success. The proposition that the workingman should receive a stipulated sum, and in addition a reasonable share of profit, has every where produced satisfactory results. But a thoroughly educated and trained mechanical class will make these co-partnerships the rule instead of the exception.

CONCLUSION.

What a glorious country this will be when we have well educated and scientific artizans; when the printer, the book-binder, the blacksmith, and the carpenter will be graduates from institutions, taking a pride in their calling, believing that they are not only equal in law to all other men, but that their vocation is as honorable, as respectable, and as conducive to the comfort and necessity of men as that of the lawyer, the doctor, or the minister. Thus we will have a real fraternity, a brotherhood, not in speech but in fact, a brotherhood of highly-skilled, intellectual men, who choose to be the one thing or the other, because they expect to excel in their respective callings. And thus will be realized the kindly declaration of Scotland's poet of the people, that

"Rank is but the guinea's stamp
A man's a man for a' that."

The Government of the United States is at present in honest hands, in safe hands, in patriotic hands. No one doubts the patriotism of President Grant, by whose foresight and military skill, the workingman's cause was prevented from being the "lost cause," and the confederate or capitalists cause was prevented from being the dominant cause. No one questions the high integrity or unapproachable honesty of Secretary Boutwell, who presides over our finances in these times of rapacity and corruption, when men are more eager to accumulate fortunes than to retain reputations for integrity.

We are about to lessen the burdens imposed upon us by the slave-holders' war, inaugurated under the auspices of the Democratic party, by paying off—permanently destroying—the debt of the United States. Thus we are not simply postponing payment by easy taxation now for greater taxation hereafter, but by prompt payment of the principal, stop the interest and thus afford permanent relief. Two hundred and thirty millions of dollars have thus already been paid, the interest on this sum is no less than fourteen millions of dollars per year, and the retrenchment and reform inaugurated in other channels of the civil service will show at the end of Grant's administration, a balance sheet equal to fifty millions of dollars of less annual expenditures than at its begining.

The greatness of the nation, its power and vitality, its civilization and manhood must not be measured by its productions, nor by its commerce, nor by its manufactures; the greatness, power and durability of the nation must be measured by the intellectual and moral worth of its people; by their frugality, by their temperateness, by their conscientious devotion to duty, by their self-sacrifices on the altar of truth. Production and commerce only show prosperity in a coarser form. It is the literature, the poetry, the arts, and the religion of the land, which are the criterion by which to judge of its permanency and power.

America is the reservoir into which the most energetic and enterprising elements of all nations have poured and are pouring. It is a great nation, grand in its physical proportions, grand in its political institutions, grand in its moral aspirations, grand in its patriotic devotion and hope of a permanent life; and grand in its example to other nations.

Let us then rally all the progressive elements, all that is moral and virtuous, into one powerful and harmonious party, sacrificing private views as far as may be for the sake of upholding our Government, and handing it down to our children, ever increasing in power and glory.

A SUMMARY.

What the Republican party has done, is proof of what it will do.

1st. Among the first acts of the Republican Congress, after some necessary measures to resist the Democratic Rebellion, was the adoption of the Homestead law, under which the whole mass of the public domain is opened to the possession and ownership of the laboring man, upon the condition of settlement and cultivation, at the nominal price of $10 for a 160 acres.

2nd. Provision was made by which this vast property is largely enhanced in value, and rendered accessible to men of limited means, over the lines of the Trans-continental Railroad—the construction of which, had been delayed under Democratic rule, by the fear that free labor would possess this rich inheritance, to the exclusion of slave labor.

3rd. The whole system of servile labor was abolished by the Republican party, in spite of the united and persistent opposition of the Democracy in Congress and on the battle field.

4th. Again, the whole mass of unrequited labor was lifted to the dignity of the country's defenders, thereby giving it enlarged opportunities, enabling it to command the attention and the sympathies of the nation, and rendering its future subjection to bondage absolutely impossible.

5th. This whole class was endowed with citizenship and all its rights and advantages-against all of which acts, the Democrats in Congress and in the States, recorded a united negative—yet it is easy to see that each successive step added immeasurably to the dignity and power of labor.

6th. The whole remaining public lands of the *South*, were reserved from sale, and appropriated to the exclusive use of actual settlers, by which the landless laborers of that section, come to the ownership of more that 45,000,000 acres, sufficient for half a million of homes of 80 acres each, and by which, also, the further progress of land monopoly in that section is forever stopped.

7th. It has given guaranty by a solemn and unanimous declaration of the House of Representatives, that the future land policy of the party shall be in the interest of individual occupation and ownership, and opposed to sales or grants under conditions, which will admit the further growth of personal or corporate monopoly.

8th. And finally it has given practical evidence of its fidelity to the principles of land distribution to actual occupants, through its organized land committees, and in the defeat of numerous land grant bills at the recent session of Congress.